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Colonization Society.

EXTRACTS

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EXTRACTS.

WHAT shall we do with the people of color? What can we do for their happiness consistently with our own? Are questions often asked by the thinking mind. The desire to make them happy has often been felt, but the difficulty of devising and accomplishing an efficient plan, has hitherto appeared too great for humanity itself to accomplish. The mind shrunk back from the attempt. The time was not arrived. The servitude of the sons of Ham, *described by Noah, in the spirit of prophecy, concerning the future condition of his posterity, was not terminated.* At present, as if by a divine impulse, men of virtue, piety and reflection, are turning their thoughts to the subject, and seem to see the wished for plan unfolding, *in the gradual separation of the black from the white population, by providing for the former, some situation where they may enjoy the advantages to which they are entitled by nature and their Creator's will.*

COLONIZATION OF THE FREE BLACKS AN OBJECT OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE.

There is no section of the country that does not feel sensibly the inconvenience and horrors of being obliged to enact a particular system of laws for one portion of freemen, whilst the others are subject to the general laws of the land. Such unhappily is the case; but there is a necessity for it, and so long as they remain amongst us will that necessity continue; and there will be the anomaly in a republican government of a class of freemen enjoying none of the privileges and advantages of freedom. Is it either safe or prudent to retain amongst us a large population, on whom we can place no reliance, but from the control which the laws exercise over it? can this class be animated by any feelings of patriotism towards a country by which they feel themselves oppressed? They are not trained for the defence of the country, nor do we look to any period when they are to be called on to make any exertion for it. But it is a misfortune of a great portion of this country still to acknowledge the evils of slavery. The influence of this class, imposes on the master the necessity of exercising with the greatest rigor, the power which the law has confided to him, and imposes on the legislature of the country, the necessity of increasing ten-fold the rigor of that law. There is hardly a state in the Union, where slavery exists, in which it is not found necessary to restrain and in some cases prohibit emancipation, from fear that the evil will increase; nor will the people of the north consider the objects of the society less national because it is in a manner sectional. It will give strength and vigor to the whole country—there is but one sentiment throughout the country. Though the measures we propose may be somewhat sectional, they will be national in their results, and are entitled to the national consideration and to the national assistance. *Mr. Fitzhugh.*

SLAVE-HOLDERS BENEFITED BY THE REMOVAL OF THE FREE BLACKS.

At a meeting held in the city of Washington, on the 21st of December, 1816, for the purpose of forming the Colonization Society—Mr. *John Randolph* (of Roanoke) rose and said, that it had been properly observed by the chairman, that there was nothing in the proposition submitted to consideration, which, in the smallest degree, touches another very important and delicate question, which ought to be left as much out of view as possible. But, Mr. R. said, it appeared to him that it had not been sufficiently insisted on, with a view to obtain the co-operation of all the citizens of the United States, not only that this meeting does not in any wise affect the question of negro slavery, but, as far it goes, must materially tend to secure the property of every master in the United States over his slaves. It appeared to him that this aspect of the question had not been sufficiently presented to the public view. It was a notorious fact, he said, that the existence of this mixed and intermediate population of free negroes, was viewed by every slave holder as one of the greatest sources of the insecurity, and also unprofitableness, of slave property; that they serve to excite in their fellow beings a feeling of discontent, of repining at their situation, and that they act as channels of communication, not only between different slaves, but between the slaves of different districts; that they are the depositories of stolen goods, and the promoters of mischief. In a wordly point of view, then, without entering into the general question, and apart from those higher and nobler motives which had been presented to the meeting, the owners of slaves were interested in providing a retreat for this part of our population. There was no fear that this proposition would alarm them: they had been accustomed to to think seriously of the subject. There was a popular work on agriculture, by John Taylor of Caroline, which was widely circulated and much confided in, in Virginia. In that book, much read because coming from a practical man, this description of people were pointed out as a great evil. If a place could be provided for their reception, and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay thousands of citizens, who would by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession.

The memorial of the Richmond and Manchester Colonization Society, presented to the Legislature of Virginia, January, 1825, observes:—"Although not insensible to the wrongs of a much injured and afflicted continent, embracing more than one-fourth of the habitable globe, your memorialists acknowledge that the most forcible appeal addressed to them by the parent Society, is in behalf of the United States; and more especially of this, their native state. The last census disclosed the melancholy truth, that three years ago, Maryland and Virginia together, contained more than 76,000 free persons of color. To their actual condition and rapid increase, your memorialists beg leave earnestly to call the attention of the General Assembly. Nearly one moiety of the whole number are inhabitants

of this commonwealth; and their condition is, perhaps, sufficiently illustrated by the fact, that in Virginia, the most agricultural state in the Union, although not debarred from holding lands, not two hundred out of 37,000, are proprietors of land. Of their actual occupations in this city and elsewhere, your memorialists forbear to speak. They sum up all that they would say in a few words, borrowed from one of the annual reports of the parent Society: "that, placed midway between freedom and slavery, they know neither the incentives of the one, nor the restraints of the other; but are alike injurious by their conduct and example, to all other classes of society."

Rapid as has been the growth of this class of our population, their relative increase exceeds their actual multiplication. Between the years 1800 and 1810, their numbers mounted up from 20,507 to 30,570. During this period, the white population of the commonwealth received an accession of 32,860, and the slave population of 45,550 only. Between the years 1810 and 1820, the laws annexing the condition of banishment to emancipation, having checked their increase, they grew from 30,570 to 36,889, acquiring an accession of 20 2-3 per cent.; while upon a capital of 551,534, the white population was increased 64,688, or only 11 72-100 per centum; and the slave population upon a stock of 392,518, increased 32,135, or 8 18-100 per cent. only. The progress of the same class, in the adjoining state of Maryland, has been yet more rapid.

Nor need these results occasion any surprise. The spirit of emigration carries the master to distant regions for the advancement of his fortune; and with it, his condition in life. His slaves accompany him, or are sent before him as articles of traffic. Not so with the free negro; who, almost every where corrupted and debased, suspected, and, therefore, often persecuted; what can he gain by a change of abode? He succeeds to forsaken and decaying dwellings, and to the barren heritage of worn out fields; or seeks shelter in the adjacent thickets of pine and cedar.

To provide for him a better country, is alike the dictate of humanity towards him, and of policy towards ourselves. While he remains here, no white laborer will seek employment near him: hence it is, that in some of the richest counties east of the Blue Ridge, the white population is stationary, and in many others it is retrograde. Virginia, once the first state in numbers, as she is still in territory, has become the third, and will soon have to descend to the fourth rank. The valuation of the *lands* of New York, exceeds the estimates of all the *lands and slaves* of the most ancient state in the Union.

To provide a country suited to the condition and wants of this class of our free population, was the object of the resolution of a former legislature. It has been the purpose of all the labors of the parent Society in Washington; which comprehends amongst its members, many of the most distinguished and patriotic citizens, not only of this commonwealth, but of her sister states. The object which they sought, has been obtained, and a colony of colored people, some of whom were once inhabitants of the city of Richmond, is now planted and growing at Liberia, on the coast of Africa. Since the meeting

of the last General Assembly, a ship has sailed from James River, conveying more than 100 free persons of color, natives of Virginia, who have gone to seek a home in our young colony, and in a few days another vessel will proceed on the same destination. Feeble, at present, through your memorialists the colony implores the legislature of Virginia, who contributed to its birth, to nourish its infancy and rear it to maturity. In return, it promises an asylum to all that intermediate class of population which the laws drive from the bosom of the Commonwealth, without providing for them another home. They offer to reconcile your humanity to your policy, on terms alike just and expedient. They ask the aid of the commonwealth, simply in defraying the expense of their removal to the country which has been provided for them; the expense of their faithful compliance with the legal conditions, on which alone their emancipation is now permitted. Even the criminals of Great Britain, when required by the sentence of a judge to leave the kingdom, are transported at public expense, a distance of 10,000 miles, to New Holland.

DEGRADED CHARACTER OF THE COLORED POPULATION.

No argument, we believe, can be offered in favour of the American Colonization Society, more impressive or affecting, than that which is presented by the following statement from the first annual Report of the *Prison Discipline Society*. It must, we think, awaken, in behalf of our institution, every humane and patriotic sentiment:

"The first cause, existing in society, of the frequency and increase of crime, is the degraded character of the colored population. The facts, which are gathered from the penitentiaries, to show how great a proportion of the convicts are colored, even in those states where the colored population is small, show most strikingly, the connection between ignorance and vice.

In Massachusetts, the whole population is	523,000
The colored population less than	7,000
The whole number of convicts	314
The colored convicts	50

that is, 1-74th part of the population and nearly 1-6th part of the convicts are colored.

In Connecticut, the whole population is	275,000
The colored population about	8,000
The whole number of convicts is	117
The colored convicts	39

that is, 1-34th part of the population is colored, and 1-3d part of the convicts.

In Vermont, the whole colored population is only 918 souls, from whom twenty-four have been furnished for the penitentiary.

In New York, the whole population is	1,372,000
The colored population	39,000
The whole number of convicts in the state	
prisen in the city is	637

The colored convicts 154
that is, 1-35th part of the population is colored, and about 1-4th part of the convicts.

In New Jersey, the whole population is 277,000
The colored population 20,000
The whole number of convicts 74
The number of colored convicts 24
that is, 1-13th part of the population is colored, and 1-3d part of the convicts.

In Pennsylvania, the whole population is 1,049,000
The colored population 30,000
In 1816, the whole number of convicts 407
The number of colored convicts 176
In 1819, the whole number of convicts 474
The number of colored convicts 165

that is, 1-34th part of the population is colored, and more than 1-3d part of the convicts.

It appears from the above statement, that about one fourth part of all the expense incurred by the states above mentioned, for the support of their criminal institutions, is for the colored convicts.

We will, therefore, look a moment at the amount of the expense thus incurred.

In Massachusetts, the whole expense of the state, for the support of its convicts, in the last ten years, has been \$106,405; of which, one sixth part, or, \$17,734 has been expended for the support of its colored convicts.

In Connecticut, the whole expense of the state, for the support of its convicts in the last fifteen years, has exceeded \$118,500; of which, one third part, or \$37,166 has been expended for the support of its colored convicts.

In New York, the whole expense of the state, for the support of its convicts, at the city prison, in the twenty-seven years ending December 1823, was \$437,000; of which, one fourth part, or, \$109,166, was for the support of its colored convicts.

The whole colored population of the three states above mentioned, viz: Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, has been less than 54,000, and for the support of the convicts from this small population, in the time specified above, the three states have expended \$164,066.

Could these states have anticipated these surprising results, and appropriated the money to raise the character of the colored population, how much better would have been their prospects, and how much less the expense of the states through which they are dispersed, for the support of their colored convicts.

The expenditure of \$164,000, in so short a time, for the purposes of education, among a people consisting of only 54,000 souls, would very soon raise their character to a level with that of the whites, and diminish the number of convicts from among them, about ten fold.

If, however, their character cannot be raised, where they are, a

powerful argument may be derived from these facts, in favor of colonization, and civilized states ought surely to be as willing to expend money on any given part of its population, to prevent crime as to punish it.

ALTHOUGH THE FREE BLACKS ARE THUS DEGRADED, THEY ARE YET SUSCEPTIBLE OF IMPROVEMENT.

Among the most formidable prejudices, that have tended to repress all exertions for the amelioration of the Slave, has been the strange notion, that the African was incapable of improvement; that there was an indescribable something about his natural and moral transformation, that forbid all hope of his elevation—that in truth, he was born to be a slave. Not only have the partial and imperfect experiments of philanthropy repelled this calumny upon Providence, but permit me to inquire, what has occasioned any discouraging symptoms on this subject?

We enslave, degrade, and oppress a people through many generations—shut out from them all the avenues to skill and science—let scorn point its steady finger at the whole race—and then we merely let them go, merely say to them, “now live and breathe for yourselves, without our aid or countenance;” and because they cannot enter upon, and maintain a career, which white men have learned to course by the unremitting cares and labors of the nursery, the school, and the college, they are put down as blanks in creation. It is as unjust, as it is unreasonable.

Violently force away from all their privileges, and to run a nearer parallel, in the disruption, break the dearest ties of nature and friendship; load them with chains; hunt them down as outlaws; let the systems of their education and domestic economy, be studiously directed to break their spirits, enervate their minds, and frown away all generous emulation; and in what rank in the scale of moral existence, think you, five generations, would place them?

Give the African fair play. Let his functions have full scope; enlarge his sphere of enterprise; open to his elevated views, the road to fame, and honorable distinction; and then judge, whether his head or his heart be below our standard.

Let Toussaint, Christophe, Petion, and scores of other distinguished men in science, let the flourishing colony of Sierra Leone, where *fifteen thousand* souls are now living under the influence of Gospel Light and rational liberty, enjoying the privileges of the most favored civilized societies; and exhibiting in domestic and public life, talents and virtues, that would not disgrace any village in America; silence forever this cruel prejudice.—*Mr. Frelinghuysen, of New-Jersey.*

THE FREE BLACKS NEVER CAN BE ELEVATED TO THE DIGNITY AND
PRIVILEGES OF FREEMEN, IN THEIR PRESENT SITUATION.

There is at present within the limits of the United States, a colored population of *one million seven hundred and ninety-nine thousand*. The character, and circumstances, of this class of the community, fall, to some extent, under the personal observation of every man. Who is there, that does not know something of the condition of the blacks in the northern and middle states? They may be seen in our cities and large towns, wandering like foreigners and outcasts, in the land which gave them birth. They may be seen in our penitentiaries, and jails, and poor houses. They may be found inhabiting the abodes of poverty, and the haunts of vice. But if we look for them in the society of the honest and respectable—if we visit the schools in which it is our boast that the meanest citizen can enjoy the benefits of instruction—we might also add, if we visit the sanctuaries which are open for all to worship, and to hear the word of God; we shall not find them there. The *Soodra* is not farther separated from the *Brahmin* in regard to all his privileges, civil, intellectual, and moral; than the negro is from the white man by the prejudices which result from the difference made between them by the God of nature. A barrier more difficult to be surmounted than the institution of the *Caste*, cuts off, and, while the present state of society continues, must always cut off, the negro from all that is valuable in citizenship. In his infancy, he finds himself, he knows not why, the scorn of his playmates, from the first moment that their little fingers can be pointed at him in derision. In youth, he has no incentive to prepare for an active and honorable manhood. No visions of usefulness, or respectability, animate his prospects. In maturer years, he has little motives to industry, or to any honorable exertion. He is always degraded in the estimation of the community, and the deep sense of that degradation enters into his soul, and makes him degraded indeed. We know that there are individuals, who, in spite of all these obstacles to moral and social improvement, have acquired a character of respectability, and piety. But instances like these, occasioned by the peculiar circumstances or powers of the individuals, cannot be brought to disprove the general assertion, which we make without the fear of contradiction, that the blacks are degraded, without any proper means of improvement, or any sufficient incentive to exertion. In Greece and Rome, as in almost every other nation, a slave might be made free, and then he was no longer a slave, but he was amalgamated with the rest of the community, and the road of wealth, or honor, or office, was open before him, and his interests were united with the interests of the republic. But here the thing is impossible: a slave cannot be really emancipated. You cannot raise him from the abyss of his degradation. You may call him free; you may enact a statute book of laws to make him free, but you cannot bleach him into the enjoyment of freedom.

COLONIZATION INDISPENSABLE BOTH FOR OUR OWN RELIEF AND THE
WELFARE OF THE FREE BLACKS.

While the people of color remain with us, either as slaves or as freemen, subject to all the necessary disabilities, I can imagine no possible remedy. An asylum must be procured for them, on some distant shore; and none seems more appropriate than the land from whence their fathers and mothers were forcibly torn. Insurmountable difficulties forbid an attempt to form them into a distinct or dependent nation, on the continent of America. The stream of white population flows too steadily towards the shores of the Pacific, to be arrested in its progress. Indian wars, and unceasing conflicts with the whites, would be their lot, and would too probably end in the ruin and extinction of the colony. Such is the magnitude of the evil and the necessity of a remedy, that a scheme offering the most remote chance of ultimate success, deserves a fair experiment. The present generation cannot hope to witness the full accomplishment of any plan that may be devised; but they may and ought to commence the work of justice and benevolence, and commit the result to Him with whom are the issues of life.

THE REAL OBJECTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

May be ascertained from the following preamble and resolutions, submitted by Mr. Fitzhugh, and adopted at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Society, January 9, 1826.

Whereas prejudices have been found to exist in different parts of the United States, against the American Colonization Society, growing out of an evident misconception of its real character and objects; and whereas it has sometimes been charged with the extravagant idea of being enabled to effect the purposes of its creation by means of individual charity and individual exertions only: Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That the Society disclaims, in the most unqualified terms, the designs attributed to it, of interfering, on the one hand, with the legal rights and obligations of slavery, and on the other, of perpetuating its existence within the limits of the country.

2. *Resolved*, That its only object is, what has been at all times avowed, the removal to the coast of Africa, with their own consent, of such people of color within the United States, as are already free, and of such others, as the humanity of individuals, and the laws of the different states, may hereafter liberate.

3. *Resolved*, That the Society has, from its organization, looked to the powers and the resources of the nation, or of the several states, as alone adequate to the accomplishment of this important object.

4. *Resolved*, That the period has arrived, when the Society feels itself authorised, by the efforts it has made, to apply to the govern-

ment of the country for the aid and co-operation essential to give success to these efforts.

5. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prepare and present, as soon as possible, to the two houses of Congress, memorials, praying such aid and assistance to the Society as Congress shall think proper to afford.

6. *Resolved*, That the Board of Managers of the Society be instructed to prepare and present to the legislatures of the several states, memorials, praying the adoption of such measures as may be calculated to encourage and facilitate the emigration of the free people of color within their respective limits.

The Board of Managers declare, in their third annual report, that—they propose, in the language of the Virginia resolution, to procure a suitable territory on the coast of Africa, for such of the free people of color, as may choose to avail themselves of this asylum; and for such slaves as their proprietors may please to emancipate; and they propose, moreover, to furnish the means of transporting the emigrants to Africa; or to enlarge the means which they may, themselves, provide.

They do *not*, therefore, *intend*, and *they have not the inclination*, if they possessed the power, to *constrain* the departure of any freeman of color, from America, or to *coerce any proprietor to emancipate his slaves*.

ADVANTAGES OF COLONIZATION IN AFRICA.

I.—ADVANTAGES TO THIS COUNTRY.

To estimate the benefits, which a successful operation of the Colonization Society will confer on the people of *this country*, we must look for a moment at the present condition of the colored population, the manner in which the blacks stand related to the whites, and the slaves to those of their own color, who are free. We shall here find a series of appalling evils, growing in strength as the ratio of population increases, and bidding defiance to any remedy, which either our political or social institutions can apply.

We cannot express our views on this subject in language more appropriate and forcible, than that of Mr. Harper, as contained in a letter to the secretary of the Colonization Society, appended to the First Annual Report.

‘In reflecting,’ says Mr. Harper, ‘on the utility of a plan for colonizing the free people of color, with whom our country abounds, it is natural that we should be first struck by its tendency to confer a benefit upon ourselves, by ridding us of a population for the most part idle and useless, and too often vicious and mischievous. These persons are condemned to a state of hopeless inferiority and degradation, by their color; which is an indelible mark of their origin and former condition, and establishes an impassible barrier between them

and the whites. This barrier is closed forever by our habits and our feelings, which perhaps it would be more correct to call our prejudices, and which, whether feeling or prejudices, or a mixture of both, make us recoil with horror from the idea of an intimate union with the free blacks, and preclude the possibility of such a state of equality, between them and us, as alone could make us one people. Whatever justice, humanity, and kindness we may feel towards them, we cannot help considering them, and treating them, as our inferiors; nor can they help viewing themselves in the same light, however hard and unjust they may be inclined to consider such a state of things. We cannot help associating them in our feelings and conduct, nor can they help associating themselves, with the slaves; who have the same color, the same origin, and the same manners, and with whom they or their parents have been recently in the same condition. Be their industry ever so great, and their conduct ever so correct, whatever property they may acquire, or whatever respect we may feel for their characters, we never could consent, and they never could hope to see the two races placed on a footing of perfect equality with each other; to see the free blacks or their descendants visit in our houses, form part of our circle of acquaintance, marry into our families, or participate in public honors and employments. This is strictly true of every part of our country, even those parts where slavery has long ceased to exist, and is held in abhorrence. There is no state in the union, where a negro or mulatto can ever hope to be a member of congress, a judge, a militia officer, or even a justice of the peace; to sit down at the same table with the respectable whites, or to mix freely in their society.'

At this stage of our national progress, it is idle to investigate the causes, which have fixed these impressions, and built up these unnatural barriers of separation; and worse than idle to tell us, what we know full well, that they are unreasonable, unjust, and inhuman.

Let the fact be as melancholy as it will, it is nevertheless a fact, and one with which we must be contented, without attempting to palliate the enormities out of which it has arisen, that the course of events, over which we have had no control, and the customs of society whose power no arm of flesh can counteract, have brought the whole body of the people of color, both bond and free, into a situation fruitful of infinite mischiefs to themselves, and to the whites. That watchful guardian of character and morals, public opinion, exerts its power in vain on the blacks, because this same public opinion has inhumanly branded them with a mark of degradation, which they feel it impossible to erase, and has thrust them into a rank among their fellow-men, above which, neither virtue nor knowledge, wisdom nor piety, can enable them to ascend.

In this respect, as Mr. Harper has justly observed, there is a wide difference between slavery in America, and in all other countries. *Color* has become a signal of inferiority, by the mere habit of connecting the idea of a slave with that of a dark skin; nor can it be otherwise, while the principles of association hold their place among

the first elements of the human mind. Anciently among the Greeks and Romans, as now among the different nations of Europe and Asia, no distinction of color existed between the slave and his master. Then slavery was a remediable evil; emancipation washed out the stain; intellect and virtue had their influence; to have been a slave, was no bar to any degree of dignity and respect, which future merit might deserve; Terence and Epictetus lost none of the admiration justly due to their talents, because they were slaves; they were not the less caressed by the great, admired by the wise, and honored by all.

No such thing can happen in this country. Give freedom to a slave, and where do you place him? Not above the repulsiveness of popular feeling, not in the rank of the meanest white man, not in a sphere where he can gather around him the affections or participate the friendships, or be consoled by the sympathy of the respectable members of the community. He is pressed down, till debasement becomes a habit; he has grovelled, till the desire of rising out of the dust is lost; ambition has withered in its starting freshness; emulation has been blighted in the opening bud; virtue has sunk weary with all requited exertion; and hope, the last kind comforter of the wretched, has forsaken his bosom, and left him reckless of his condition and his destiny.

The character of slavery, as it exists in this country, renders emancipation to any practicable extent impossible, unless there shall be some place out of the United States, to which free persons of color may be sent, where they may enjoy the civil privileges of which, for wise purposes, it is here necessary that the laws should deprive them; and where they may obtain those means of happiness, which freedom and self-government will put into their hands. No dream can be more wild than that of emancipating slaves, who are still to remain among us free; we unhesitatingly express it as our belief, and we speak from some experience, that the free people of color, as a class in the slave holding states, are a greater nuisance to society, more comfortless, tempted to more vices, and actually less qualified to enjoy existence, than the slaves themselves. In such a state of things, manumission is no blessing to the slave, while it is an evil of the most serious kind to the whites.

This we deem an important consideration, because it brings the subject of emancipation to a single point.

We suppose it is the cherished hope of every true patriot, as well as of every benevolent man, that the day will come, when the scourge of slavery shall no longer be felt in the land, when the rod of chastisement shall be withdrawn, and all voices shall join in the song of freedom. There is one possible way, and only one, in which this event can be accomplished, or even approximated. It is *by colonization, and by this alone*, that the mischiefs of slavery, and, what is more to be dreaded than slavery, *the living pestilence of a free black population*, can be lessened. We take the position to be settled, that no remedy can be imagined, while the people of color continue with

us, whether as slaves or as freemen subject to their present legal disabilities. Can any combination of facts more clearly demonstrate the necessity of procuring an asylum for these people, in some place remote from our own territory, or more loudly demand the union of all hearts and hands in aiding the benevolent and well designed beginnings of the Colonization Society? As all hope of future relief rests on some experiment of this sort, who does not see, that the sooner it is begun, the less formidable will be the obstacles to contend against, and the more encouraging the prospects of success?

‘Great as the benefits are,’ says Mr. Harper, ‘which we may promise ourselves, from the colonization of the free people of color, by its tendency to prevent the discontent and corruption of our slaves, and to secure to them a better treatment by rendering them more worthy of it, there is another advantage infinitely greater, in every point of view, to which it may lead the way. It tends, and may powerfully tend, to rid us gradually and entirely, in the U. States, of slaves and slavery; a great moral and political evil, of increasing virulence and extent, from which much mischief is now felt, and very great calamity in future is justly apprehended: It is in this point of view, I confess, that the scheme of colonization most strongly recommends itself, in my opinion, to attention and support. The alarming danger of cherishing in our bosom a distinct nation, which can never become incorporated with us, while it rapidly increases in numbers, and improves in intelligence; learning from us the arts of peace and war, the secret of its own strength, and the talent of combining and directing its force; a nation which must ever be hostile to us, from feeling and interest, because it can never incorporate with us, nor participate in the advantages which we enjoy; the danger of such a nation in our bosom, needs not to be pointed out to any reflecting mind. It speaks not only to our understandings, but to our very senses; and however it may be derided by some, or overlooked by others, who have not the ability or the time, or do not give themselves the trouble, to reflect on, and estimate properly, the force and extent of those great moral and physical causes, which prepare gradually, and at length bring forth, the most terrible convulsions in civil society; it will not be viewed without deep and awful apprehension, by any who shall bring sound minds, and some share of political knowledge and sagacity, to the serious consideration of the subject. Such persons will give their most serious attention to any proposition, which has for its object the eradication of this terrible mischief, lurking in our vitals.’

In the course of his further remarks, Mr. Harper draws a vivid picture of the mischievous effects growing out of the colored population, and sets forth the advantages, which the country would gain, by gradually releasing itself from this burden. The author speaks not more from deep reflection, than from observation and experience; the accuracy of his knowledge, and the soundness of his judgment, are alike to be trusted. His views are philosophical; they are just in principle and fact. Revealing the causes of the evils, which now afflict us, he proves them to be radical, and suggests the only method

by which they can be torn up and destroyed. Draw off the free blacks; then give freedom to the slaves, and let them follow. White laborers will come in and take their place, as fast as the odium of slavery wears away; labour will be more productive, lands more valuable, and the means of wealth more abundant; a vicious, worthless, dangerous population will be succeeded by an intelligent and thriving class, who will stand as pillars of strength in the social fabric. This is no impossible task, if rightly undertaken; so great a change must necessarily be brought about by imperceptible degrees; the Colonization Society has taken the first step; let its enterprise be seconded with energy, and the work will in due time be done.

II.—ADVANTAGES TO THE FREE BLACKS THEMSELVES.

To the free blacks themselves the benefits are the most obvious, and will be the most immediate. Here they are condemned to a state of hopeless inferiority, and consequent degradation. As they cannot emerge from this state, they lose by degrees, the hope, at last the desire of emerging. With this hope and desire they lose the most powerful incitements to industry, frugality and good conduct, and honorable exertion. For want of this incitement, this noble and ennobling emulation, they sink for the most part into a state of sloth, wretchedness and profligacy. The few honorable exceptions serve merely to show of what the race is capable in a proper situation. Transplanted to a colony composed of themselves alone, they would enjoy real equality: in other words real freedom. They would become proprietors of land, master mechanics, ship owners, navigators, and merchants, and by degrees, school masters, justices of the peace, militia officers, ministers of religion, judges and legislators. There would be no white population to remind them of, and to perpetuate their original inferiority; but enjoying all the privileges of freedom, they would soon enjoy all its advantages, and all its dignity. The whites who might visit them would visit them as equals, for the purpose of a commerce mutually advantageous. They would soon feel the noble emulation to excel, which is the fruitful source of excellence in all the various departments of life; and under the influence of this generous and powerful sentiment, united with the desire and hope of improving their condition, the most universal and active incitements to exertion among men, they would rise rapidly in the scale of existence, and soon become equal to the people of Europe, or of European origin, so long their masters and oppressors. Of all this, the most intelligent among them, would soon become sensible. The others would learn it from them; and the prospect and hope of such blessings would have an immediate and most beneficial effect, on their condition and character. For it will be easy to adopt such regulations, as to exclude from this colony all but those who shall deserve by their conduct to be admitted: thus rendering the hope of admission a powerful incentive to industry, honesty, and religion.

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III.—ADVANTAGES TO THE SLAVES.

To the slaves, the advantages, though not so obvious and immediate, are yet certain and great.

In the first place, they would be greatly benefited by the removal of the free blacks, who now corrupt them and render them discontented; thus exposing them to harsher treatment and greater privations. In the next place, this measure would open the way to their more frequent and easier manumission; for many persons who are now restrained from manumitting their slaves, by the conviction that they generally become a nuisance when manumitted in the country, would gladly give them freedom, if they were to be sent to a place where they might enjoy it, usefully to themselves and to society. And lastly, as this species of manumission, attended by a removal to a country where they might obtain all the advantages of freedom, would be a great blessing, and would soon be so considered by the slaves, the hope of deserving and obtaining it, would be a great solace to their sufferings, and a powerful incitement to good conduct. It would thus tend to make them happier and better before it came, and to fit them better for usefulness and happiness afterwards.

IV.—COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES.

Such a colony would enlarge the range of civilization and commerce, and thus tend to the benefit of all civilized and commercial nations. In this benefit our own nation would most largely participate; because, having founded the colony, and giving it constant supplies of new members, as well as its first and principal supply of necessities and comforts, its first connexions would be formed with us, and would naturally grow with its growth and our own, till they ripened into fixed habits of intercourse, friendship, and attachment.

[*Gen. Harper.*]

The instance of Sierra Leone presents us with no unfavorable view of what may be done in the way of commerce. That colony contended for a long time with many embarrassments; it was owned by a company, whose means were exhausted before its commercial operations could go into complete effect; it suffered from wars and privations. Yet all these difficulties have vanished, and the commerce of Sierra Leone has of late been flourishing. Thirty-five vessels were entered at the port in the year 1821, registered chiefly in London, and containing goods, whose invoice amount was somewhat more than \$450,000. The duties collected in the colony during the same year, amounted to \$28,000. The principal articles exported in return, were ivory, palm oil, camwood, gum, beeswax, gold dust, hides, rice, lumber of various sorts, mahogany in logs; coffee, African wild spices, guinea grains, leopard skins, and mats. These are brought down by the natives of Sierra Leone, and exchanged for cheap cloths, and various articles of European manufacture. The trade is a profitable one to the importer, and, as it extends, will run

into new and promising channels. Mesurado is better situated for trade than Sierra Leone; it stands at the mouth of a much larger river, is in the neighborhood of a more fertile country, and accessible to a larger population in the interior. Why, then, should it not grow up to be a place of commercial importance, *employ many of our seamen, add to the tonnage of our shipping, contribute to our revenue*, and thus confer a positive good on the nation, at the same time that it relieves us of a positive and alarming evil? Nor ought our views be confined to Mesurado. Civilization and commerce will go hand in hand, and new sources of profitable intercourse will be opened, in proportion as the natives learn the best modes of supplying their wants.

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V.—EFFECTS ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

Let the scheme of colonization next be considered as affecting the *Slave Trade*, and it will be seen, that its benefits, in regard to the suppression of this traffic, are scarcely less important, than those already enumerated. In 1808, the earliest time provided by the constitution, the slave trade was prohibited in the United States, and laws were enacted inflicting severe penalties of fines, imprisonments and forfeitures on those, who should participate in this guilty traffic. Ten years afterwards this law was improved, by throwing on the defendant the burden of proof, that the colored person introduced by him into the country was lawfully brought in. The laws were still found to be imperfect, as they neither afforded a sufficient check to the trade by American citizens on the coast of Africa, nor provided any means of redeeming and restoring to their country the unfortunate victims, who might, in violation of the laws, be introduced into the states. To correct these imperfections, the act of March 3d, 1819, already mentioned, was passed, authorising the president to station public vessels on the coast of Africa, make such arrangements as he should deem expedient to rescue and support recaptured negroes, and appoint agents to reside there, and receive such persons of color, as should be sent from this country, or be taken by our cruisers from slave vessels on the coast. One act more was wanting to mark this wicked traffic with its true character, and this act was passed by congress, May 15th, 1820, wherein it is declared, that every person proved to be engaged in the slave trade is guilty of *piracy*, and shall be *punished with death*. The glory of taking this noble stand against the long cherished, guilty customs of the whole world, and of asserting the claims of humanity on the broad principles of nature and right, was reserved for the American congress. It is a bright page in the records of time, and the event will be hailed in all coming ages as a memorable epoch in the history of the human race. It has already gained the spontaneous applause of every benevolent heart, not more in this country than in Europe. Let it not be forgotten, that this step was first recommended by a committee of congress acting on a memorial of the colonization society.

This memorable law, in connexion with that of 1819, would seem to be little else than a dead letter, without the existence of an American colony on the coast of Africa. Where are the agents to be stationed? What security will they have for their persons? How are they to preserve the dignity of public agents of the American government, or in what manner can they discharge the duties of their office, in opposition to the interests of the people, whose protection they claim?

In the president's next message to Congress, after the above act was passed, he observes, in referring to the agents whom he had appointed, 'they will have power to select the most suitable place on the coast of Africa, at which all persons who may be taken under this act shall be delivered to them, *with an express injunction to exercise no power founded on the principle of colonization*, or other power than that of performing the benevolent offices above recited, [providing for the recaptured negroes] by the permission and sanction of the existing government under which they may establish themselves.' But what existing government is there on the coast of Africa, which is not engaged in the slave trade? And is it to be credited, that any such government would give permission for an agency to be established, whose professed object should be to oppose its customs and discourage its trade? We hold the thing to be impossible. While the agents were supplied with presents enough to bribe the kings into acquiescence, the case might not be entirely hopeless, but tempt their cupidity by letting loose in their dominions a cargo of recaptured negroes, and we will answer for their integrity no longer. It is not a characteristic of the untutored mind to resist the stronger motive, especially when the force of habit accords with the impulse of interest. And then it is not likely, that the enslavers on the coast would regard with a friendly eye these enemies of their commerce, acting under the sanction of a foreign power. Let the subject be viewed as it may, and there will not be a shadow of hope, that two unprotected agents, fixing themselves among the natives, could do any thing towards an effectual execution of the laws of the United States. They would effect little else, than to supply the slave market in Africa to the full amount of recaptured persons, whom they should receive.

That such a scheme should have been contemplated by the executive, was evidently the result of necessity; congress had directed agents to be appointed, but had not looked forward to the thing of chief importance, the mode in which they should be so employed as to render their agency of any practical value. Thus situated, the president had no alternative, but to appoint agents, and instruct them as he did. Happily, however, the experiment was not tried. The government made common cause with the colonization society; the agents of both were directed to act in concert, and as far as we can learn, they have thus acted till the present time. We believe, indeed, that both agencies are now vested in Dr. Ayres alone. For all the good effects, which have grown out of the law of 1819, the

government is indebted to the Colonization Society. The latter has no doubt received eminent services from the former, and probably has been able to sustain its operations in Africa only through the aids thus received, but still the project of a colony belonged to the Society, and its efforts have been turned exclusively to that object.

The president was extremely guarded in his instructions to the agents, and imposed on them 'an express injunction to exercise no power founded on the principle of colonization.' We do not intend here to enter on the topic of colonization in its political bearings; these are unquestionably important, and there may be reasons why it is inexpedient for the United States to found colonies abroad for any purpose, although we have never seen them stated. The present is obviously a case in which the laws of the Union, and some of its laws of first moment, *cannot be executed, except through the medium of a colony*. Notwithstanding the president's cautious injunction, the agents have exercised no power to any purpose, which was not 'founded on the principle of colonization.' It is said, that this was only a private colony, to which the agents resorted as affording them protection, and facilities for discharging their duty? Let this be granted, and our position will then hold the same, that they have done nothing except through the aids of a colony.

And, moreover, a slight inspection will show, that the colony at Mesurado wants nothing to make it a public colony already, but the mere form of recognition on the part of the government. To all practical purposes it has been such from the beginning. Lieutenant Stockton of the United States navy, was one of the signers to the treaty, by which the land was ceded to the society, and he afforded such assistance as was requisite in establishing the colonists on the ground. Similar aids have been rendered by all the public vessels on the coast. Captain Spence built a fort on the Cape at the public charge, supplied with guns, and the American flag was hoisted on its battlements. He also left an armed schooner for the better protection of the colonists. The present agent, Dr. Ayres, is appointed under the law of congress, and supported by the government. These facts we state as evidence, that the laws against the slave trade cannot be put into execution, except 'on the principle of colonization.' All the efforts which have as yet been made, have forced themselves of their own accord into this channel, and any attempt to compass the object on other principles would end in a total failure. We repeat then, that to the colonization society belongs the praise of having projected the only practicable scheme of carrying the abolition laws into effect, and affirm, that these laws will be executed in proportion as the government, either directly or indirectly, acts on the principles of this society. Let the starting point be where it will, here is the centre to which every successful movement will come at last.

VI.—ADVANTAGES TO AFRICA.

In regard to the advantages which may be expected to *Africa itself*, from a colony in that country, they are too numerous to be mentioned in detail, and the most of them too obvious to require much remark. From the time the eloquence of Wilberforce, and the high minded, untiring zeal of Clarkson, first awakened a slumbering world to a recognition of the dearest, although long forgotten rights of humanity, down to the present period, every day has proved the grand secret of African degradation to consist in the slave trade. Abolish this effectually and forever, and you have done all; you have raised a prostrate continent to a proud eminence in the rank of physical and moral being. The laws of civilized countries will avail something, but tenfold greater will be the influence of a well ordered colony residing in the midst of the people, teaching them the arts of life, showing them the value of mental and moral improvement, and convincing them by example, that civilization in all its branches is the spring and the safeguard of human happiness. The spirit, which cherishes the unholy practice of slavery, holds dominion in the minds of the people, planted there, and nurtured there, it is true, by the avarice, cupidity, and crimes of civilized barbarians, yet it must be rooted out and destroyed in its source, before the evil will cease. Let the navies of the world be combined, and line the coast of Africa from Tangier to Babelmandel, and even make it certain that not a slave shall escape, this would not be abolishing the slave trade. The spirit would still lurk in the vitals of one hundred and fifty millions of people, and even in this sphere, narrow compared with its present extent, it would show itself in all the miseries of intestine wars and plunderings, misrule in government, and heart-rending separations in the domestic and social circles.

As a first step, the slave trade must cease, the work of humanity will then be commenced; the door of legalized crime will be closed, and the dawn of innocence will rise to witness the expiring struggles of guilt. Next enlighten the natives, and the cause of humanity will be completely vindicated; nature will teach the rest; governments will grow up, founded on the eternal basis of truth and right; peace and happiness will reign in the land; the horn of plenty will pour its abundant stores at the feet of the laborer; wisdom will assert her empire in the mind; the affections will bloom with new freshness and fragrance in the heart; and the injured, insulted, degraded African will rise to a level with his species, and prove to his deriding oppressors, that the same God, who has stamped his image on other men, has in equal kindness bestowed on him in full measure the sources of feeling, the power of intellect, and all the ennobling principles of human nature.

These two objects, the suppression of the slave trade, and the practical civilization of Africa, may be pursued together. Each will advance the other. A colony on the coast, at the same time that it affords facilities for carrying into effect the laws against the slave

Trade, will be a post of observation to detect illegal traffickers, and, by heightening the risk to discourage the boldness of adventurers. The hiding places of mischief will be revealed, and proper remedies applied; the artifices of iniquity will be laid open, and the machinations of deliberate crime frustrated. The interests of a colony will harmonize with its favorable circumstances, and prompt it to watchfulness, and a speedy exposure of abuses. It can give timely information to public cruisers, and guide their efforts to a more efficient service.

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There is an immense object to be gained by the efforts of the Colonization Society in the entire suppression of the slave trade. This horrible traffic, notwithstanding its abolition by every civilized nation in the world, except Portugal and Brazil, and notwithstanding the decided measures of the British and American governments, is still carried on to almost as great an extent as ever. Not less than 60,000 slaves, according to the most moderate computation, are carried from Africa annually. This trade is carried on by Americans to the American states. The assertion has been made in Congress, by Mr. Mercer of Virginia, that these horrible cargoes are smuggled into our southern states to a deplorable extent. Five years ago, Mr. Middleton, of South Carolina, declared it to be his belief, "that 13,000 Africans were annually smuggled into our southern states." Mr. Wright, of Virginia, estimated the number at 13,000. And the cruelties of this trade, which always surpassed the powers of the human mind to conceive, are greater now than they ever were before. We might, but we will not, refer to stories, recent stories, of which the very recital would be torment. The only way in which this trade can be speedily and effectually suppressed, is the establishment of colonial stations in Africa, which will guard and dry up the fountains of the evil. There is no slave trade in the vicinity of Sierra Leone. Soon there will be none in the vicinity of Montserado. And when colonies shall be established at proper intervals along the coast, the slave trade will exist only in the memory of indignant humanity. And is not this an object for benevolence to aim at?

But this is not all. The colony is to be the means of civilizing and christianizing Africa. Hitherto the extension of civilization, and, since Christianity was established in the Roman empire, the extension of Christianity has been almost exclusively by colonies.—Whence came the civilization of Greece? It was brought by colonies from Egypt. How was Italy civilized? By colonies from Greece. How was Europe civilized? By the Roman military colonies. Whence came the civilization of America? And is not that universal spirit of improvement which is springing up in Hindostan, occasioned, more or less directly, by the British conquests there, which have poured in thousands of Englishmen, who are in effect colonizing India? Two centuries hence, the little band, who are now cultivating their fields and building their houses at Montserade, and spreading over the wilderness around them a strange aspect of life,

and beauty, may be remembered by the thousands of their descendants, with the same emotions with which the little band who landed at Plymouth two centuries ago, are now remembered by the thousands of New England. We do not fear to say, that to the friends of missions, the Colonization Society presents a loud and imperative claim. The advantage of the Moravian missions and of the modern missionary establishments in savage countries, is, that they are in substance, little colonies. If you could carry from this country to the Sandwich Islands, a thousand civilized and educated natives, would you not think you had done much for Owhyhee? This is what can be done, and must be done, for Africa.

And will there not be an interest in the progress of the work? Will it not be delightful to watch the advances of the morning; to see the light breaking in on one dark habitation of cruelty, and another; to see the shadows of heathenism fleeing away, and the delusions which have so long terrified the ignorant pagans, vanishing; to see one tribe after another coming to the light of Zion, and to the brightness of her rising; to see Ethiopia waking, and rising from the dust, and looking abroad on the day, and stretching out her hands to God, and the day-light still spreading and kindling and brightening, till all the fifty millions of Africa are brought into the "glorious liberty of the sons of God!" Is there not enough in this to arrest the attention of the public, and to keep it fixed on this object with an untiring interest, till all shall be accomplished?

The Niger's sullen waves
Have heard the tidings,—and the orient sun
Beholds them rolling on to meet his light
In joyful beauty.—Tombut's spiry towers
Are bright without the brightness of the day,
And Houassa wakening from his age-long trance
Of woe, amid the desert, smiles to hear
The last faint echo of the blissful sound.

Mr. Bacon, of New-Haven.

CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIANITY WILL BE INTRODUCED INTO AFRICA.

Subsidiary to these great ends, will be the mental culture, and religious instruction, derived to the natives from the direct labors and indirect influence of a colony.

Could a more propitious beginning be imagined, or a field be better prepared for culture? You have no obstinacy to conquer, no wild and restless wanderings of a thoroughly savage disposition to tame, no contempt of knowledge and the refinement of civilized life to soften, no torpid indifference to rouse, no spectres of a paralyzing superstition to dispel. You have minds to deal with naturally simple and artless, tractable in temper, docile, ready to learn, and requiring only the use of judicious means properly applied.

These positions are verified, not more by the above facts, than by the increase of Sierra Leone. In the twelve schools of that colony, there are now *two thousand persons*, of different ages, under the care of about thirty teachers. Their general good deportment, and pro-

gress in learning, are represented, by the committees appointed to examine the schools, in terms the most flattering. They were all recaptured from slave ships. Some have already become teachers themselves, and gone out to instruct the tribes bordering on the colony. The mechanic arts, agriculture, the plainer branches of manufactures, and whatever gives a spur to invention, value to labor, a right direction to power, strength to morals, and refinement to thought, may well be reckoned among the elements of an African education, which the natives are glad to learn, and capable of receiving.

In regard to religious instruction, no heathens can be so easily initiated into the principles of christianity, as the inhabitants of central and western Africa. They believe for the most part in a Supreme Being, but their notions are obscure, without system or consistency. They have no conceptions of the attributes of God, nor do they ascribe the operations of nature to his agency. When Artus told them that their gold, fruits, and flocks were given them by the Deity, they replied, 'the earth gives us gold, the earth yields us maize and rice, the sea affords us fish, but if we do not labor ourselves, we may starve before our God will help us.' They believe in an evil and good principle, existing in distinct forms, each of which has power over them; and they are also strongly affected by charms, termed fetiches on the coast, and Obi in the West Indies. It matters not of what material the charm is made; when once consecrated in the imagination of the person whose reverence it commands, it is supposed to have a power little inferior to that of Deity, and to hold in its mysterious virtues the destiny of mortals.

Such a religion has too few points of consistency to acquire any strength by age; its principles are too vague to gain a permanent entrance into the mind; it has nothing to engage the fancy or captivate the understanding. It is not like the magnificent fabric of Chinese theology, made sacred by the venerated names of ancient statesmen and sages, standing as the firmest pillar of the empire, and secured from innovation by the impermeable panoply of a language, which to change would be to destroy. Nor is it like the more philosophical and, perhaps, more ancient system of the Hindoos, rendered imposing by its thousand volumes of commentaries, and perpetuated by an unceasing, overgrown priesthood. Nor is it like the monstrous folly of the Tartars, where the wretched idea of a Grand Lama has driven common sense from the minds of millions, and united them in an unconquerable system of visionary absurdity. In short, the world does not contain an uncivilized people, more free from the bias of heathenism than the negroes.

The task of plucking out errors, and eradicating deep rooted superstitions, which is so formidable in most cases, is one of little difficulty with them. The soil is already prepared for the seed; and this only requires to be scattered with a careful hand, and nurtured with gentleness and skill. The Mahometans have had good success, and many persons in the central parts of Africa have been brought over to their faith. What then may we not expect from the simple

and engaging truths of christianity? Shall we say, that the sublime doctrines of Jesus, and the holy precept of his religion, have less power to convert the heathen, than the profane vagaries of the Arabian impostor; or that the rude followers of the latter have more zeal, than the humble disciples of the former? What christian will listen to so ungracious an imputation? The inference must be allowed, then, both from a view of the religion of the negroes, and the success of Mahometanism among them, that they are better prepared, than any other barbarous people, to receive religious instruction, and adopt new principles of faith. Thus may a colony be accessory to the advancement of religious truth, which could come from no other quarter, as well as to the civil improvement, temporal interests, and social happiness of the people among whom it is stationed.

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THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

Has been approved and patronised by some of the most respectable individuals and public bodies, in the United States.

The friends of freedom and humanity have reason to rejoice that a spirit appears to have gone abroad upon the earth, which promises great things for poor persecuted Africa. It is passing from heart to heart—it begins to fill our land, and must sooner or later pervade the whole christian world, for it is surely from God. Philanthropy was long deaf to her feeble cries—until lately she had no advocate—but her cause has now been pleaded before assembled senates; and mighty nations have confederated for her protection. The benevolent enterprize to which your publication is to be devoted, has been formally recommended by the highest and most august assemblies in the land, both ecclesiastical and political. The venerable General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, the Methodist General Conference, the Baptist General Association, the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the General Association of Massachusetts, the Synod of Virginia, the Synod of Tennessee, the Synod of Pittsburgh, the Episcopal Convention of Virginia, and the Episcopal Convention of Maryland, together with many others, have earnestly presented it to the favor of the religious public. The legislatures of Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Georgia, Ohio, New Hampshire, and New Jersey, have bespoken for it the patronage of the nation; and from every branch of the general government, it has been honored with demonstrations of unequivocal regard. In *Congress*, there is registered in its behalf, a "Report" of approbation, while many of the most influential members are its friends, its public advocates, and some of them its active officers. Our late Chief Magistrate, who filled with so much honor and success the *executive* department, did something more substantial than merely to approve its plans. The highest *judicial* officer in the nation, is President of an active Auxili-

any at Richmond; while his venerable associate at Mount Vernon, (with a spirit worthy the name he bears,) presides in the councils of the general board.

Several of our seminaries, both of classical and sacred literature, have manifested their interest in its welfare. The North American Review, our best literary—the Christian Spectator, the Christian Advocate, and the Boston Recorder, our best religious; and the National Intelligencer, with others, our best political publications, have written largely in its defence. It seems to captivate all classes of men. In the language of the last Report from Washington, “a thousand powerful minds scattered throughout the Union, are at work for this Society.” Yes, many a clear head, and warm heart, and vigorous hand, is pledged for its support. Besides, there is Omnipotence engaged in the cause. When was it ever known that an enterprise recommended alike by duty, interest, and humanity, failed to secure the approbation of a virtuous and enlightened people, if its advocates did not prove unworthy their trust?

Extract from the Report of the Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, April 18, 1818.

The committee to whom was referred the memorial of the “President and board of managers of the American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States,” have, according to order, had the same under their attentive consideration.

Referring to the memorial itself, and to the report of the committee on the slave trade, to the 14th congress, your committee beg leave to add, that a new interest has been recently imparted to the benevolent enterprise of the memorialists, by the prospect of a speedy termination of that odious traffick, which has been so long the crime of Europe, the scourge of Africa, and the affliction and disgrace of America. Spain and Portugal have at length concurred in that just and humane policy of the United States, which Great Britain was the first to imitate, and which by her liberal and unremitting zeal, she has successfully extended throughout the civilized world.

So far as the civilization of Africa, the victim of this inhuman traffick, is embraced among the views of the memorialists, the removal of this formidable impediment to their success, is calculated to elevate the hopes of the philanthropist, and to secure to their enterprise a large share of public confidence.

America cannot but sympathize in the wish to redeem from ignorance, barbarism and superstition, a continent of vast extent, spread out beneath every climate, embracing every variety of soil, and inhabited by a much injured and degraded portion of the human race.

But your committee have no hesitation in acknowledging that they desire a yet stronger incentive to recommend this enterprise to the favor of the house than considerations peculiar to the United States.

These were presented to the last congress by the report to which your committee have referred, and they deem it unnecessary, therefore, to press them upon the attention of the house. They cannot, however, forbear to remark, that time is unceasingly aggravating all those domestic evils, for which the memorialists propose the only competent remedy, and that the most auspicious circumstances conspire at present to promote its successful application.

Europe, after passing through a war of unprecedented extent and calamity, enjoys a repose which she has rarely known, and which, for the honor of humanity, it may be hoped she will be disposed to signalize by some act of distinguished generosity. She will not, surely, be content with a mere forbearance of further injustice, but seek to repair the wrongs which she has inflicted upon the unhappy race of men.

The people of the United States have retired from the same conflict, to enjoy a prosperity which has never been surpassed in the history of the world. Respected abroad, they possess abundance, tranquility and happiness at home.

A survey of such blessings, naturally inspires a sentiment, the existence of which is illustrated not only by the formation of the society, from which this memorial proceeds, a society embracing individuals of every religious and political denomination, and inhabitants of every state in this wide-spread Union, but by the almost unanimous proceedings of the legislatures of Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia, either recommending or countenancing the same benevolent object.

It cannot be supposed that the liberal and enlightened policy which dictated the resolutions and acts of those particular states, is confined to themselves alone. Their neighbors, like circumstanced, actuated by the same interests and feelings, will be conducted to the same conclusion, in relation to questions not only of vital importance to them, but in their remote bearing of scarcely less moment to the stability and prosperity of the Union.

The auxiliary Colonization Societies which are daily springing up in other quarters of the United States, evince, that if the feelings which animate them, were local in their origin, they required only to be manifested, in order to awaken the sympathy and to secure the co-operation of the rest of America, in the attainment of their common object.

Your committee would not thus favorably regard the prayer of the memorialists, if it sought to impair, in the slightest degree, the rights of private property, or the yet more sacred rights of personal liberty, secured to every description of freemen in the United States.

The resolution of the legislature of Virginia, the subsequent acts and declarations, as well as the high character of the memorialists themselves, added to the most obvious interest of the states who have recently sanctioned the purpose, or recognized the existence of the

American Colonization Society, exclude the remotest apprehension of such injustice and inhumanity.

The memorialists propose to attain the noblest end which benevolence can conceive, by temperate and practicable means.

Their success, however, cannot be complete, until the object of the memorialists shall have received the sanction, and their efforts the aid of the federal government.

If their memorial does not furnish sufficient ground for the interposition of the national legislature, in their behalf, it appears to your committee, that the resolution of Virginia, which they beg leave to subjoin to this report, subsequently sustained by a similar resolution of Maryland and Tennessee, unquestionably do so.

The several states having, by their adoption of the federal constitution, surrendered the power of negotiation, to the general government, have an undoubted right to claim the exercise of that sovereign authority for their benefit, whenever it can be exerted consistently with the welfare of the United States.

Your committee cannot forbear to add another, to them a very solemn consideration, as an inducement for the exercise of this authority in the manner proposed by the general assembly of Virginia. The act of congress which interdicts the African slave-trade, and subjects the citizens of the United States, who engage in its prosecution, to merited punishment, has left the unfortunate beings, whom the violations of this law are daily casting upon the American shore, to the separate provisions of the respective states within whose jurisdiction they may chance to be found.

To say nothing of the abstract propriety of transferring such an authority over the persons and liberty of these foreigners from the national to the state legislatures, entertaining no apprehension that congress will be rendered thereby accessory to any act of cruelty or inhumanity; it must be yet apparent, that the individual states have a right to require the aid now sought to be obtained from the general government, in order to enable themselves to discharge the trust reposed in them, without a violation of their local policy, or injustice to those unfortunate Africans, placed at their disposal, by the laws of the United States.

Your committee, therefore, beg leave to recommend to the house, the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby requested, to take such measures as he may deem proper, to ascertain whether a suitable territory can be procured on the coast of Africa, for colonizing such of the free people of color of the U. States as may be willing to avail themselves of such an asylum, and to enter into such negotiation with the native tribes of Africa, or with one or more of the governments of Europe, as may be necessary to obtain such territory, and to secure to the contemplated colony every advantage which he may deem essential to its future independence and prosperity.

Resolution passed by the Legislature of Virginia, 23d December, 1816.

WHEREAS, the General Assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum, beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of color as had been, or might be emancipated under the laws of this commonwealth: but have hitherto found all their efforts, for the accomplishment of this desirable purpose, frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success,—they now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the government of the United States in abolishing the African slave trade, (a traffic which this commonwealth, both before, and since the Revolution, zealously sought to terminate,) to renew this effort, and do, therefore, *Resolve*, That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory upon the coast of Africa, or upon the shores of the North Pacific, or at some other place, not within any of the states, or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth; and that the Senators and Representatives of this state, in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above object: *provided*, that no contract or arrangement respecting such territory, shall be obligatory upon this commonwealth, until ratified by the legislature.

Resolution passed by the Legislature of Tennessee.

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, That the Senators in Congress from this state be, and they are hereby instructed, and that the Representatives be, and they are hereby requested, to give to the government of the United States, any aid in their power, in devising and carrying into effect, a plan which may have for its object the colonizing, in some distant country, the free people of color who are within the limits of the United States, or within the limits of any of their territories.

From the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

The General Assembly having witnessed, with high gratification, the progress of the American Colonization Society, in a great work of humanity and religion, and believing that the temporal prosperity and moral interests of an extensive section of our country, of a numerous, degraded, and miserable class of men in the midst of us, and of the vast continent of Africa, now uncivilized and unchristian, are ultimately connected with the success of this institution: Therefore,

Resolved, unanimously, That this Assembly recommend to the

churches under their care, to patronize the objects of the American Colonization Society, and particularly, that they take up collections in aid of its funds, on the 4th of July next, or on the Sabbath immediately preceding or succeeding that day; and, wherever such course may be thought expedient, to give their assistance in such manner as may be most conducive to the interests of the general cause.

MASONIC RESOLVES.

No late event, connected with the interest of our institution, is more gratifying and auspicious, than the adoption of sundry resolutions by the Winder Lodge in Baltimore, recommending the plans of our Society as not unworthy the countenance and pecuniary aid of the Masonic Fraternity. We publish the letter of the committee by whom the resolutions were communicated.—*African Repository*.

BALTIMORE, JUNE 15th, 1826.

SIR:—At a regular meeting, last night, of Winder Lodge, No. 77, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

“*Resolved*, That out of any money in the funds of the Lodge not otherwise appropriated, and as soon as the same may be at the disposal of the treasurer, \$20 be subscribed to the funds of the American Colonization Society.

“*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed, to forward this donation to the Society, with an expression of our decided approbation of the objects of their benevolent design, and our sincere desire for the accomplishment of their truly national and philanthropic work.

“*Resolved*, That the committee consist of the worshipful master, Richard S. Stewart, and brothers Charles C. Harper and John H. B. Latrobe.

“*Resolved*, That the committee be directed to open a correspondence on this important subject, with other Lodges throughout the state of Maryland, and elsewhere.”

We communicate these resolutions to you, sir, with peculiar pleasure. We hope and believe, that the opinions they express will be found to pervade the whole Masonic Fraternity. The work of gradually emancipating and removing our colored population, and planting them on the coast of Africa, without infringing the rights of individuals or disturbing the order of society, seems to us, to come, by its extensive benevolence and permanent charity, within the immediate scope of Masonry, and to recommend itself to every Mason, as being calculated to confer immense and lasting benefits on the human race. While it tends to relieve our own country, the chosen soil of freedom, from a stain and nuisance, it prepares a home and happier futurity for those who are its special objects, and gives a brighter promise, than any other plan, of the ultimate extension to Africa, of the blessings of civilization and the gospel.

In this small offering, we have not been insensible to the influence

of the approaching anniversary of our independence; but we have thought, that a suitable acknowledgement to the Author of all Good for the liberty he has granted us, would be the endeavor to extend that liberty to others.

With the assurance of our great personal respect, we are your obedient servants,

R. S. STEWART,
CHARLES C. HARPER,
JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

Rev. R. R. GURLEY, Resident Agent, A. C. S.

OFFICERS OF THE PARENT SOCIETY,

Hon. BUSHROD WASHINGTON, President.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Hon. Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia,
Hon. Henry Clay, Washington City,
Hon. Wm. Phillips, of Massachusetts,
Hon. Henry Rutgers, of New-York,
Hon. J. E. Howard, of Maryland,
Hon. J. C. Herbert, of Maryland,
Hon. Daniel Webster, of Boston,
Hon. Isaac McKim, of Maryland,
Gen. Lafayette,
Hon. John Marshall, of Virginia,
Gen. John Hartwell Cocke, of Virginia,
Gen. Charles F. Mercer, of Virginia,
Robert Ralston, Esq. of Pennsylvania,
Right Rev. Bishop White, of Pennsylvania,
Jeremiah Day, D. D. Yale College,
General John Mason, District of Columbia,
Samuel Bayard, Esq. New Jersey,
Wm. H. Fitzhugh, Esq. Virginia,
Hon. Richard Rush, Washington City.

MANAGERS.

Francis S. Key, Esq.	Rev. Dr. W. H. Wilmer,
Walter Jones, Esq.	Rev. John N. Campbell,
Rev. Dr. James Laurie,	Joseph Gales, Jun. Esq.
Rev. Wm. Hawley,	Wm. Thornton, Esq.
Rev. Dr. S. B. Balch,	Col. Henry Ashton,
Rev. O. B. Brown,	Dr. Thomas Henderson.

John Underwood, Recorder,
Richard Smith, Esq. Treasurer,
Ralph R. Gurley, Resident Agent.

The whole number of Colonization Societies is 85, more than twenty of which have been formed within the present year. Maine 1, Vermont 1, (a state society); New Hampshire 1, (a state-auxiliary); New York 10, New Jersey 1, (a state society); Massachusetts 1, Delaware 2, Pennsylvania 8, Maryland 8, Virginia 25, North Carolina 8, Georgia 3, Ohio 10, Kentucky 2, Missouri 1, District of Columbia 3.

List of the officers of a few of the Auxiliaries of the Colonization Society, from which the character of its patrons may be learned.

Maryland Auxiliary Society.—Col. John Eager Howard, *President*; Hon. Chief Justice Bruce, *Vice President*; Luke Tierman, *Treasurer*; Edward J. Coale, *Secretary*.

New York Auxiliary Society.—Col. Henry Rutgers, *President*; Col. William Few, Rev. Alexander M'Leod; D. D. Rev. Philip Milledoler, D. D. *Vice Presidents*; Crove Wright, *Treasurer*; John B. Beck, M. D. *Recording Secretary*.

Auxiliary Society of Annapolis.—J. T. Chase, *President*; William Kilty, Thomas Blackstone, William Spencer, Peter Emmerson, C Dorsey, Dr. Thomas Johnson, William Hayward, James Murray, Benjamin W. Lecompte, John Moffat, Wm. D. Digges, Wm. R. Stuart, Ephraim K. Wilson, R. B. Tubey, Charles S. Sewall, William Hughlett, Thomas Kennedy, George C. Washington, James Tidball, *Vice Presidents*; A. C. Magruder, *Secretary*; Jonathan Pinkney, *Treasurer*; John Brewer, *Recorder*.

Auxiliary Society of Loudon Co. Va.—James Monroe, *President*; Samuel Murray, Ludwell Lee, Israel Janney, James Moore, Mahlon Taylor, Samuel Nichols, Isaac Brown, Sydney Bailly, Johnson Cleveland, Burr Powell, James Heaton, William Elzey, William Noland, *Vice-Presidents*; R. D. Henderson, *Treasurer*, Richard H. Lee, *Secretary*.

Auxiliary Society of Richmond, Va.—Chief Justice John Marshall, *President*; James Pleasants, Jr. John Tyler, *Vice-Presidents*; Benjamin Brand, *Treasurer*; Thomas Howard, *Secretary*; Wm. H. Fitzwhylson, Robert G. Scott, John Rutherford, Hall Neilson, James Blair, Wm. Crane, Willis Cowling, James E. Heath, William Barrett, Young Pankey, Charles J. Nicholas, David J. Burr, *Managers*.

Auxiliary Society of the State of Vermont.—Hon. Elijah Paine, *President*; His Ex. C. P. Van Ness, His Hon. Aaron Leland, *Vice-Presidents*.

Albany Auxiliary Society, N. Y.—Harmannus Bleecker, *Presidents*; John Lansing, Jr. Stephen Van Ransselaer, *Vice-Presidents*; Ebenezer F. Backus, *Treasurer*; Benjamin F. Butler, *Secretary*.

Pittsburgh Auxiliary.—Henry Baldwin, *President*; Francis Heron, D. D. Robert Bruce, D. D. John Black, D. D. Rev. Elisha P. Swift, Rev. C. B. Maguire, Rev. John H. Hopkins, Rev. Charles Avery, Rev. Joseph Kerr, Rev. Joseph Stockton, Walter Forward, *Vice Presidents*; William M'Candless, Neville B. Craig, Richard Biddle, Harmer Denny, Thomas Enoch, W. W. Fetterman, John M^cKee, Charles L. Voby, Samuel Thompson, John D. Davis, *Managers*; Charles H. Israel, *Secretary*; Wm. B. Lowrie, *Treasurer*.

Wheeling (Va.) Auxiliary.—Noah Zane, *President*, (and life member of the Parent Society by a donation of \$50); Rev. Wm. Wylie, Rev. John Armstrong, Rev. Henry Furlong, Rev. James Hervey, Hon. A. Caldwell, *Vice Presidents*; Samuel Sprigg, John M^cClure, Richard Simms, Robert I. Curtis, Dr. John Irwin, Samuel M^cClallen, E. J. Lee, James Campbell, Col. Arch. C. Woods, Wm. F. Peterson, David Hubberd, D. B. Bayless, *Managers*; Redick M^cKee, *Secretary*; Thomas Woods, *Treasurer*.

St. Louis (Mo.) Auxiliary.—William Carr Lane, *President*; Hon. James H. Peck, Gov. Coles, (of Illinois,) George Tompkins, William C. Carr, *Vice Presidents*; Col. John O'Fallan, Dr. Robert Simpson, Hon. Rufus Pettibone, Theodore Hunt, Dr. H. L. Hoffman, Horatio Cozens, John Smith, John K. Walker, Col. Quarles, Edward Bates, Robert Wash, Thomas Cohen, *Managers*; T. Spalding, *Corresponding Secretary*; D. Hough, *Recording Secretary*; Aaron Phule, *Treasurer*.

An estimate of the degree of interest felt throughout the slaveholding states in the Colonization of the free blacks, may be formed from the following very partial extracts from lists of contributions;

SUBSCRIBERS AT WASHINGTON—LIFE MEMBERS.

John Marshall, Chief Justice United States,	\$30
Bushrod Washington, Mount Vernon, Virginia,	100
Charles Marsh, Woodstock, Vermont,	30
Elias B. Caldwell, Washington,	30
George Peter, Maryland,	30
F. S. Key, Georgetown, District Columbia,	30
C. F. Mercer, Loudon county, Virginia,	30
Wm. H. Fitzhugh, Fairfax county, do.	50
H. Clay, Lexington, Kentucky,	30
J. C. Herbert, Maryland,	30
William Thornton, Washington,	30
Robert Ralstan, Philadelphia, Pa.	100
Samuel Archer, do.	50
J. Mason, Georgetown, D. C.	30
William H. Crawford, Georgia,	30

IN FREDERICK COUNTY, VA.—PAYABLE IN FIVE ANNUAL INSTALMENTS.

Nathaniel Burwell,	\$500	John Milton,	500	Susan Meade,	100
Phillip Burwell,	500	Wm. Garnegey,	500	Mary Meade,	100
Rev. Wm. Meade,	500	Hon. Hugh Holmes,	200	Mrs. Page, of Fred.	100
Richard K. Meade,	500	Oliver Funston,	200	Mrs. Norris,	100
David Meade,	500	James Ship,	200	Mrs. Blackburn,	100
Lucy Meade,	100	Rev. A. Balmain,	100	Daniel Lee,	100
William Hay, sen.	100	James M. Hite,	100	Joseph Fauntleroy,	100
John Kerfoot,	100	James Sowers,	100	William Mithchell,	100

AT BALTIMORE—MEMBERS FOR LIFE.

Isaac M'Kim, subscribed	\$500	Alexander M'Donald,	100
John Eger Howard,	200	Charles Carrol, of Carrolton,	100
Robert Gilmor,	200	Peter Hoffman,	100
Thomas Ellicott,	100	Alex. Fridge and — Morris,	100

AT AUGUSTA, GEO.—ANNUALLY, FOR FIVE YEARS.

J. Walker,	\$25	Edward F. Campbell	25	William Cumming,	25
J. H. Montgomery,	10	Richard Tubman,	20	Augustin Slaughter,	25
R. H. Wilde,	10	Charles Labuzard,	10	Anderson Watkins,	25

AT SAVANNAH, GEO.—ANNUALLY, FOR THREE YEARS.

James M. Wayne,	\$20	Edward F. Tatnall,	20	I. C. Dunning, 5 years,	20
John Anderson,	20	Theodore Barton,	20	Hazen Kimball, 1 do.	20
Joseph Cumming,	20	I. B. Read,	20	Jonathan Meigs, do.	20
Oliver Sturgess,	20	A. G. Semms,	20	Rich'd Habersham, do.	20
William Taylor,	20	F. R. Gray,	20	Anthony Barkley,	20
David Leion,	20	I. Waldbury,	20	John P. Williamson,	20
Archibald Smith,	20	Henry Katlock,	20	Robert Habersham,	20

AT CHARLESTON, S. C.—ANNUALLY, FOR FIVE YEARS.

Christoph. Gadsden,	50	Mr. Gibbs,	30
William Smith,	50	Mr. Poinsett, donation,	50

ADDITIONAL SUBSCRIBERS AT WASHINGTON CITY.

B. G. Orr, Esq.	20	Gen. Van Ness,	20	Hon. Wm. H. Crawford,	
Gen. Parker,	10	William Wirt, Esq.	10	second donation,	50

Fifty dollars have also been received from M. Hyde de Neuville, the French minister to this country. And a second donation of one hundred and fifty dollars from Gen. John H. Cocke, of Virginia.

APPROPRIATION OF CONGRESS.

I entirely concur with my friend in the encomium he has pronounced on our venerable Chief Magistrate, for the firm and patriotic efforts by which he has advanced the design in which we are engaged. It is known to all the members of the Society, that \$100,000 were appropriated three years since, and 30 or 40,000 have been since applied to an object affiliated to our design, and essentially, though collaterally, contributing to its advancement; the sending out of agents of the United States to the African coast, and the transportation of persons in the public ships. By these means we have obtained, in fact, all we could have expected to obtain, had Congress decided to aid our enterprise; nor has this been done by any perversion of his

powers. It has been done avowedly and in good faith. The Executive apprized Congress of his construction of the powers confided to him, and that body tacitly assented to the construction.

Fenton Mercer

In consequence of the Memorial of the Richmond Auxiliary, the Legislature of Virginia, from various useful articles in the Penitentiary, appropriated the amount of \$500.

LIBERALITY OF THE NORTHERN STATES.

The State Society of Vermont since its formation has contributed \$1,529 to the funds of the Parent Institution.

Through the generous exertions of the Rev. Chester Wright of Vermont, a valuable library was obtained for the Lancastrian School of Liberia, 200 volumes of which were received as a donation from the Students of Yale College.

The citizens of Boston, on the sailing of the *Vine*, presented to the Emigrants, a printing press, a font of great primer, a font of pica, and a font of brevier.

Paper worth \$120—Ink \$35—a variety of office furniture; a bell for the Academy worth \$50; 2 sets of patent scales \$92; 2 sets of blacksmith's tools \$125; a pair of globes \$20; agricultural implements, nails, and a great quantity of clothing, provisions and books. They also engaged a printer, to whom they advanced a salary of \$416, for the first year.

Extract of a letter from a Lady in Hartford, Connecticut, April, 1826.

"The idea of educating a young man of colour as a physician for the Colony, has been suggested to some who are interested in the plans of the Colonization Society, in this place. A young physician here of excellent character and who is in good practice, has offered to instruct a young man, and furnish him with the requisite books. He can be boarded in my family and clothed by "a Society for benefiting Africans" in my school.

A suitable individual has been selected from Boston. He is about 17, and it is believed, that with his present acquirements, he may obtain the necessary knowledge of botany, chemistry, medicine and surgery, in the course of four or five years."

KOSIUSKO SCHOOL.

A committee of the *African Education Society* in New-Jersey, have addressed a circular letter to the public explaining the origin of their institution and its object, and soliciting funds in aid of the same.—The preparation of free coloured children and youth for usefulness

in Africa, is a prominent purpose which the trustees of this school will aim to accomplish, and we hope on this account, if on no other, it will receive general countenance and a liberal support. The committee state, that the Kosiusko Fund originally left by an illustrious foreigner in the hands of Mr. Jefferson, to be employed in liberating and educating African slaves, and which was confided by the lamented executor to Benjamin L. Lear, Esq. of this city, will be appropriated for the benefit of their school, and they express the hope that the "collected fruits of benevolence from the whole American people, will not prove less than the free will offering of a single Polander, to the captives of Ethiopia enslaved in our land." The available amount of the fund left by Gen. Kosiusko, is at this time about thirteen thousand dollars, and the trustees wish to raise from public charity an equal sum. The contribution of *eight dollars* is necessary to constitute a subscriber a member of the Society. "The board of trustees intend to rent a small farm—and to connect the literary pursuits of the school with agricultural & mechanical employments. They hope to secure the services of a pious practical farmer, a mechanic of like character, and at least one judicious well qualified preceptor of the school and superintendant of the whole establishment. Donations for this institution should be remitted to Joseph C. Hornblower, Esq. Newark, New-Jersey, Secretary and Treasurer of the Board.

LIBERAL PATRONAGE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

The Society of Friends in North Carolina contributed at one time to the funds of the Colonization Society \$800. They afterwards liberated 500 slaves, and furnished \$500 to assist in their transportation. This sum being insufficient, the Society of Friends in New England at their last annual meeting at Providence, R. I. subscribed \$1000 for the same purpose.



THE PRACTICABILITY OF THE SCHEME OF COLONIZATION.

The *North American Review* remarks:—"Having closed what we proposed to say on the *advantages* of colonization to this country and Africa, we proceed to a few hints on its *practicability*.

Success of other attempts. The objection, which has been urged with considerable emphasis against the Colonization Society, that the scheme of forming a colony in Africa is impracticable, we think sufficiently answered by the fact, that numerous colonies *have been settled there*, some of which are now of long standing. The Portuguese, the French, the Danes, and the English, have establishments scattered along the coast from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope, which must no doubt be profitable to those governments, or they would not have been maintained to the

present time. More than a century ago the French established a post on the Senegal, upwards of four hundred miles from its mouth; at Congo the Portuguese have grown into a numerous colony; and at the southern extremity of Africa, the Dutch and English together have spread over a country larger than the southern peninsula of Europe. As it is not, therefore, a question to be soberly discussed, whether it is possible for America to do what half a dozen other nations have done, the notion that colonization is impracticable hardly deserves to be considered.

Sierra Leone. We may here revert again to Sierra Leone, as affording an instance more directly in point for our present purpose, because it was founded on principles nearly allied to those of the Colonization Society. It was started by a private company, and the original settlers were taken from abroad. At the close of the American Revolution, many negroes who had left their masters during the war, and gone over to the British standard, were dispersed in the Bahama Islands and Nova Scotia, where the white loyalists took refuge. Some found their way to London. Four hundred of these were shipped, by their own consent, to Sierra Leone, in 1787. The black settlers in Nova Scotia became dissatisfied with the rigorous treatment they received, and complained to the British ministry. Emigration was thought the only remedy, and twelve hundred accepted the invitation to be transported at the expense of the government to Sierra Leone, where they arrived five years after those from London. It thus appears, that the colony at Sierra Leone was first settled by negroes, who had been slaves in this country, habituated to the same climate, and possessing the same character, as the persons with whom it is contemplated to supply the new American colony. The Maroons from Jamaica did not arrive till 1805. The land was obtained by purchase of the natives.

For some time the colony proceeded but slowly; it was attacked by the French; the natives were hostile; sickness made its ravages; want and fatigue caused despondency. But these difficulties were conquered in due time; the lands were cleared; villages are now rising up, churches and schools are multiplying, agriculture has become a settled occupation, and society has assumed a shape denoting the regularity and happiness of civilized life. The Sierra Leone colony now consists of twenty thousand inhabitants, nearly *eighteen thousand* of whom are recaptured Africans, thus rescued from an inhuman bondage, which would otherwise have been entailed on them and their posterity for ever. Why shall not the colony at Mesurado accomplish as much in the same time? And should it promise no more, who would refuse to give his heart and his hands to a work, which may save 18 thousand of his fellow beings from slavery and wretchedness?

First Objection. It has been a good deal insisted on, as a proof of the impracticability of colonization, that emigrants could not be induced to embark. Experience has shown the futility of this objection. Volunteers have ever been ready

ly in greater numbers than the society could receive, and at this time the names of more persons are on the list of application, than it would be prudent to send at once. They should not be suffered to go out faster than they can be well provided for, and we presume that two or three hundred a year would be quite as many as could find comfortable quarters in a new colony. The ratio of capacity for receiving others will of course increase very rapidly; it will be in proportion to the surplus of labor among the resident colonists over what is necessary to supply their immediate wants. The avails of the rest can be appropriated to the use of new adventurers, in supplying them with food, houses, and other requisites of life. On this principle, the time will come, in the natural progress of things, when there will be ability to provide for emigrants in Africa as fast as the condition of the blacks, and the established order of society, will permit them to depart from this country. The early disasters at Sierra Leone were owing in a great measure to the numbers landed at once, without comfortable dwellings, clothes, provisions, and good attendance in sickness. Our own colony has experienced similar calamities from the same causes.

Second
Objection. Again, it has been said, that the expense of transportation is so great, as to prevent its being carried to any available extent. This objection is founded on a false estimate of facts, as any one may be convinced, who will thoroughly examine the subject. The society has sent out emigrants at twenty dollars a piece, and it might be done still lower, if the business were prosecuted on a large scale. Many colored persons have property more than sufficient to pay their own passage, and laws might be passed to cause others to save their earnings, till they amounted to enough for their passage money. Besides, what should prevent some of our public vessels being employed in this work, and at an expense very little exceeding that which is now required to keep them in service? And last of all, why should not a portion of the national revenue be appropriated to an object, which so vitally affects the rising interests of our confederacy?

Third
Objection. The unhealthiness of the climate is another objection, usually advanced against the practicability of a settlement in Africa. In respect to this, we beg permission again to refer to the European colonies, which have been so long in operation. That the coast of western Africa is unhealthy to northern constitutions, is not denied; but no proof has been exhibited, that it is more so than other tropical climates, or even the alluvial districts of the United States. Let a colony from the northern and middle states be transported to the low and fertile parts of the Carolinas, or to the banks of the Mississippi, in the warm season, and the mortality would be much greater, than has been known in Africa, even in the midst of the fatal rains. By Meredith, Wadstrom, Dr. Lind, and others, who have had an opportunity of being informed, it is stated with confidence, that the country about Sierra Leone is equal in salubrity to the most healthy of the West India Islands.

The mortality of the colonists in Africa has not been more alarming than it was among the original settlers of New England, and other parts of America. The unusual sickness of the first emigrants to Sierra Leone, and of those gone from this country, depended on incidental causes, many of which have no necessary connection with the climate, and which will never occur to the same degree, when the forests shall be cleared, the miasmata of decayed vegetation removed, and the people supplied with comfortable habitations and wholesome food. On the whole, there seems no reason to suppose western Africa more unhealthy, than other parts of the world, to which people have emigrated for centuries, and where they have built cities, established governments, and grown into empires.

The local situation selected for our present colony enjoys many positive advantages. In speaking of the tracts of country around Cape Monte and Cape Mesurado, Dr. Leyden says, 'These districts have been described by Des Marchais, Villault, Philips, Atkins, Bosman, and Smith, as pleasant, salubrious and fertile.' Again he adds, 'Cape Mesurado is a detached mountain, steep and elevated towards the sea, with a gentle declivity on the land side. The adjacent country is extremely fertile, producing sugar cane, indigo, and cotton, without cultivation.*'

HISTORY OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

"From the successful establishment of the colony of Sierra Leone, the idea was probably first suggested in this country of Colonizing the free people of colour. In the year 1802, Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, in compliance with the request of the Virginia legislature, communicated by Governor Monroe, endeavored to accomplish the important object of our Society by a negotiation with the Sierra Leone company, and afterwards with Portugal:

* See Murray's *Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa*, Vol. II. p. 200. On the fertility of Africa, and its advantages for colonization, Mungo Park writes in the most decided and encouraging manner, after having seen more of the interior than all other European travellers besides. 'It cannot admit of a doubt,' says he, 'that all the rich and valuable productions, both of the East and West Indies, might easily be naturalized, and brought to the utmost perfection, in the tropical parts of this immense continent. Nothing is wanting to this end but example to enlighten the minds of the natives, and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects. It was not possible for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil, the vast herds of cattle, proper both for labor and food, and a variety of other circumstances favorable to colonization and agriculture, and reflect withal on the means, which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation, without lamenting that a country, so abundantly gifted and favored by nature, should remain in its present savage and neglected state. Much more did I lament, that a people of manners so gentle and benevolent should either be left as they now are, immersed in the gross and uncomfortable blindness of pagan superstition, or permitted to become converts to a system of bigotry and fanaticism, which, without enlightening the mind, often debases the heart.'—*Park's Travels, American edition*, p. 227.

but the attempt at that time unavoidably failed, and was perhaps prematurely made. Not discouraged, however, with the failure, we find the venerable patriot, in 1811, again approving the proposition of Ann Mifflin, of the Society of Friends, to procure a colonizing establishment on the coast of Africa. In short, the advocates of the plan of colonization increased, until on the 21st of December, 1816, the first meeting to form a Colonizing Society was held at Washington, and shortly afterwards the American Society was established by the particular exertions of Dr. Finley, of New-Jersey, and under the patronage of individuals who are considered ornaments to their country; many of them occupy a seat in the highest councils of the nation, and some in every department of the government."

Since this period Auxiliary Societies have been formed in rapid succession in sixteen States including Maine and Georgia, the extremities of the Union; which proves that sectional prejudices against the Colonization Society are subsiding, and that it is beginning to be regarded as a grand National Institution. The present number of Auxiliaries is 95; the Compiler of this pamphlet having heard of the formation of 10 new ones since the first part was printed.

PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE COLONY AT LIBERIA.

Extract from Niles' Register.

It is quite evident now, or at least highly probable, that we may build up a powerful people on the Western coast of that benighted quarter of the world, who shall extend their settlements into the interior, and thereby spread light and knowledge, civilization and religion, even along the yet unknown shores of the mysterious Niger, and totally break up at least the external trade in slaves.

The colonists are healthy, and rapidly increasing; the bounds of the colony have been extended, and already the village of Monrovia is a place of considerable trade—many coasting and other vessels arriving and departing; and there is a growing intercourse with the interior. The people are diligent and orderly, and apparently sensible of the blessings that must flow upon those of their own color, as well as on themselves, by the success of the measures now in progress to build up a new nation of enlightened blacks. Education is well attended to, and all persons are taught that they may be useful to themselves and others.

There are two well disciplined companies of militia, and the colony now is, or soon will be, fully able to defend itself against any invasion of the neighbouring tribes—which, at present, however, are peaceable: and the petty kings appear quite pleased with the improvements that are making in their neighborhood. It is very possible that, in fifteen or twenty years, the commerce of Liberia will employ a greater amount of American tonnage than is now employed in the trade carried on with all the Northern Powers of Europe, to whom we send ministers and agents, and of whose favor and proceedings we are so jealous, because of that trade.

LIBERIA HERALD.

We have perused, with no slight emotion, a copy of the "*Liberia Herald*," which was noticed in an atticle in our last. A newspaper from Africa! An Americo-African newspaper! We confess that we never examined any other newspaper with as much interest as we did this little sheet. It realized to us, more than any thing else could do, at so great a distance, the growth, the stability, and the prospects, of the African Colony; and we can imagine the pleasure which all the friends of that great and benificent scheme must feel at this interesting evidence of the progressive success of their unwavering efforts. Let them but persevere, and final and complete success will crown their exertions. Public opinion will become universal in its favour, and public opinion thus united, will give an impulse to the public counsels favorable to the Colony.

In looking over the Monrovia paper, it was interesting to observe the various notices of business, parades, marriages, &c. as though the print was issued in the midst of an old community. For the amusement of our readers, we subjoin the following notices, copied from the first number of the paper:

"Organized, on the 15th instant, the second Trading Company of Liberia, on the basis of uniform prices and equitable trade, both with the different tribes and with foreign nations. Any traffic in human blood or spirituous liquors with the natives, is a violation of the Constitution, and incurs heavy penalties."

"*Attention!*—The Independent Volunteers will parade on the 22d inst. at 6 o'clock, A. M. equipped according to law, with ten blank cartridges, in honor of the birth of Washington, the American hero.

By order of the Captain,

JAMES C. BARBOUR.

WM. W. STEWART, Orderly Sergeant."

"*Wanted immediately*—The following articles, viz: boards, plank, shingles, window glass, nails, crockery, all kinds of hardware, household furniture, cutlery, tobacco, pipes, pound beads, American cottons, gingham, calicoes, shoes, hose, cambrics, muslins, linens, buttons, thread, combs, butter, lard, and hams. In exchange for which, may be had—camwood, ivory, turtle shell, gold dust, deer, leopard, and tiger skins; rice, fowl, fish; goats, sheep, and fruits."

"*Married*, on the evening of the 14th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Sessions, Mr. Richard Sears, to Miss Rosanna Mason Fitch. All recently from America."

"*Drowned*, at Cape Mount, on the 7th ultimo, Mr. Coy Page, formerly of Richmond City, Virginia."

Over Mr. ASHMUN, the Colonial Agent, for its own wise purposes, Providence seems to have extended a special protection. As far as we have information, he has exceedingly well discharged every duty which the orders of the Board of Managers, or the emergency of occasion, has devolved upon him.—*Nat. Intelligencer*—

The tract of country purchased as the site of the colony, lies at the mouth of the river Montserado, between the 6th and 7th degrees of North latitude. The river Montserado or Mesurado, empties into the Atlantic, and is in length about 300 miles, being the largest river between the Rio Grande to the North, and the Congo to the South. The cape upon which stands fort Stockton and the town of Monrovia, is an elevated, rocky promontory, extending 3 or 4 miles into the sea, forming on its northern side a fine bay or road, where vessels may anchor in 10 fathoms water near the shore. There are excellent springs of water near Monrovia. The wood on the cape is as lofty and nearly as heavy as that of the sturdiest forests in America. There being but little arable land in the immediate vicinity of Monrovia, an agricultural settlement has been formed on the St. Paul's river, about 8 or 10 miles distant. Besides the exclusive possession of these two portions of territory, the native authorities have granted to the colony a qualified jurisdiction over 120 miles of coast, by virtue of which it has interdicted the slightest participation in the slave trade. This prohibition has been several times enforced by aid of the militia of the colony.

There are in the natural resources of the country, and in the habits of the natives, all the requisites for supplying and carrying on the most lucrative trade. From long indulgence in the slave trade, prosecuted by Europeans, articles of European manufacture have become indispensable to the native Africans. These will be imported and distributed by the colonists of Liberia, and the rice, ivory, dye-woods, gold dust, sugar, cotton, coffee, indigo, and fruits of the country, will furnish ample materials for exchange. With such facilities for traffic, it might have been foreseen that the early character and employments of the colonists would be almost exclusively commercial, and the rapidity with which they have advanced towards the acquisition of wealth is truly wonderful. From a report recently published in the National Intelligencer and National Gazette, it appears that the value of the exports from Liberia during the first half of the year 1826, amounted to very nearly \$50,000. Associating with this fact the recollection, that the colony is not yet quite five years old, being established in 1822; that its number has never much, if at all, exceeded 500; and that the system of credit is excluded from their commerce—we are furnished with an argument that must silence, if it do not convert, the enemies of the Colonization Society.

FROM THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER OF MARCH, 1825.

THE AFRICAN COLONY.

Despatches have lately been received, at the office of the Colonization Society in this city, and also at the Navy Department, from the colony at Liberia, which are in the highest degree satisfactory. The colony is under good government, and is rapidly improving, as may be judged from some of the facts hereafter stated. The utmost respect has been paid to the instructions of the society, and the system prepared for the government of the colony, has been cheerfully acquiesced in—receiving a consentaneous support from the people which is not a little promoted by the agency which the magistrates and

council have in the deliberations of the agent, and in the administration of justice. The laws are very sparingly multiplied, but, when formed, are exactly enforced. A small uniformed military force is established for the preservation of police, &c. and the militia are periodically called out in the number requisite for sentries. Since the organization of the guard, there has not been a single instance of the public stores being pillaged, as had frequently happened before. Upon the whole, the reports present a picture of an excellent provincial government in successful operation.

Besides the public buildings and improvements, which are extensive, one-store house, about a dozen frame houses, and nearly forty log buildings, have lately been built, or are building, all covered with shingles obtained in the settlement. Nearly every proprietor of lands, single women not excepted, has a dwelling well advanced, and several are nearly completed. Two houses of worship are building, the one by the Methodists, the other by the Baptists. There is a school for boys, another for girls, a third, an evening school, for adults.

The discovery of indigenous coffee on that coast, samples of which have been forwarded to the United States, is full of auspicious promise to the interest of the colony. Indigo bears full ten cuttings in the year, and its culture is extending.

The population of the colony is about 380; of whom about three-fourths are grown persons. Three only have died within the last six months, and those from old age, &c. Two marriages had taken place within the last four weeks.

HEALTH OF THE COLONY.

LIBERIA.—We observe that some of our contemporaries seem to think that the news of the death of several of the emigrants from Boston to Liberia, must be discouraging to the friends of the colony. It is, however, only to emigrations from a northern climate, and at an inauspicious season, that it is discouraging. The expedition sailed, through unfortunate haste on the part of the agent who accompanied it, so as to arrive at the season most unfavorable to northern constitutions. The expedition from Norfolk about the same time, (a little later) consisting of one hundred and fifty three persons, had lost but one adult at the latest accounts, and him not by the climate. We all know that in our own region, no white man can remove from an eastern state to the extreme south, during the summer months, without almost certain death. The hazard of such removal is greater even than that which the late expedition encountered. Notwithstanding the mortality in the small emigration from Boston, the following, among many other testimonials which might be offered, shews the light in which that country is viewed by those who have recently emigrated, as well as by those who are acclimated, and, if we may use the expression, re-nationalized:

“By the arrival of the ship Indian Chief, at Norfolk, in 33 days from Cape Messurado (the seat of the American colony,) upwards of a dozen letters have been received in this town from those people of color who lately emigrated from this place and neighborhood—all of which (we learn) express their entire satisfaction at the exchange they have made; and would not, upon any terms, return again.”

Nat. Intel. June, 1826.

THE TRADE AND RESOURCES of the Colony, authorize the employment of shipping of its own; and during the year 1825, the batteaux and boats fit for the coasting service; were multiplied from 4 to 14; and two small schooners of 10 tons burthen, were built and put upon the rice trade between the Colonial factories to the leeward, and Cape Montserado. They make a trip, freighted both ways, in ten days, and commonly carry and bring merchandise and produce to the amount of from \$400 to \$800 each trip.

An interesting family, 12 months in Africa, destitute of the means of furnishing a comfortable table, is not known; and an individual, of whatever age or sex, without an ample provision of decent apparel, cannot be found.

Native laborers may be hired in any numbers, for from four to six dollars per month. Several of the settlers, when called upon in consequence of sudden emergencies of the public service, have made repeated advances of merchantable produce, to the amount of from 300 to 600 dollars each. No credits can be allowed, on pain of forfeiture of the amount, without the written permission of the agent. The last credit, (originally of \$5000, by a house in Boston,) was discharged in December, 1825. The very high prices of every kind of labor not capable of being performed by natives, afford an unequivocal proof of the prosperity of the settlement. The wages paid to carpenters, masons, smiths, &c. (and those far from being accomplished in their respective trades,) is two dollars per diem—and to common laborers, from 75 cents to \$1 25.

The Colonial Agent, Mr. *Ashmun*, in concluding his report for 1825, remarks:—"The first effects of the Colony in civilizing and improving the condition of the natives of Africa, are beginning to be realized. The policy which I have invariably pursued in all the intercourse of the colony with them, is that of benevolence, humanity and justice. They have been treated as men and brethren of a common family. We have practically taught them in the spirit of the parent institution, that one end of our settlement in their country, is *to do them good*. We have adopted 60 of their children; and brought them forward as children of the colony—and shown a tender concern for their happiness and a sacred regard to their rights, even when possessed of a dictatorial power over both. In this conduct, a new and surprising view of the character of civilized man, has been presented to them. They have, for the first time, witnessed the effects of principles superior to the hopes of mercenary advantage, in this conduct of the settlers, and for the first time, appear to be apprised of the fact, that among civilized people, there is a good, as well as a bad class. They have learnt, from this colony, what no other foreigners have cared to teach them—their immortality—their accountability to the God who made them, and the destruction which certainly awaits at last, the unrestrained indulgence of their lusts and vices. They have for the first time learnt, and still can scarcely believe, that thousands of strangers in another hemisphere, are cordially interested in the advancement of their happiness. Our influence over them is unbounded—it is increasing—it is more extensive than I dare, at this early period, risk my character for veracity, by asserting. But I beg leave to refer at least, to facts already communicated—to our military expeditions, into the heart of their country, uninterrupted—to our purchase of the St. Paul's—admission into Grand Bassa, and acquisition of the Sesters. On several occasions of alarm from the interior, the whole population of the country has been ready to throw itself into our arms for protection. No man of the least consideration in the country, will desist from his importunities, till at least one of his sons is fixed in some settlers' family. Thieves and other malefactors have, in too many instances to be recited, been voluntarily arrested by their own countrymen, and delivered up to the colony for punishment. We have their confidence, and their friendship—and those built on the

illest conviction that we are incapable of betraying the one, or violating the other.

"One of the most obvious effects of this colony, has already been to check, in this part of Africa, the prevalence of the slave trade. The promptness and severity with which our arms have, in every instance, avenged the insults and injuries offered by slave ships and factories to the Colony, have, I may confidently say, banished it forever from this district of the coast. Between Cape Mount and Trade Town, comprehending a line of 140 miles, not a slaver dares to attempt his guilty traffic. Our influence with the natives of this section of the coast is known to be so great as to expose to certain miscarriage, any transaction entered into with them, for slaves.

"To the lasting honor of the American Colonization Society, it has founded a new empire on this continent, of which the basis is Christianity, intelligence, and rational liberty;—has conducted it happily through the perilous stages of its inception and early growth;—has seen its members, in the full possession of the means of acquiring the comforts of life, and sustaining against any anticipated opposition, the stand to which they are advanced. The Society has demonstrated experimentally to the world, the soundness of the views with which they appeared before it in 1817-18, without funds, patronage, or a precedent in the annals of the human race. And in having achieved so much, it has, in my opinion, compassed the special design of its institution; and must, from this period, resign up the great work of colonization, considered as an object of national benefit, to the national patronage."

✂ Gentlemen who may receive this pamphlet, are requested to extend its circulation by loaning it to others; and editors of newspapers are very respectfully and earnestly solicited occasionally to copy from this and other publications, such articles respecting the objects, plan and prospects of the Colonization Society, as shall suit their convenience.

✂ The current information from Liberia, is generally given by the National Intelligencer, the U. States' Gazette, the Register, of Baltimore, and other respectable publications; but may be found more in detail in the *African Repository*, or *Colonial Journal*, printed by the Society at Washington City, at \$2 per annum, payable in advance. The publication of this work is superintended by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, resident agent, to whom all communications should be directed.

AGENT OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
FOR THE WESTERN COUNTRY.